If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, 175
which contains what is probably the first "description of the 231
Araucanians ever penned,"[3] the Indians were already good 241
husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa?*], madi [*mani?*], pepper, and beans. . . ."[4]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war 175
with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of 241
their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, [222]
nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[5] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and in- [462]
tensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared [242]
and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise 423
composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the 621●
areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[6]

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[3] Graham, 1927, p. 100.

[4] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated [114]
Chile's resources in order to attract followers.

[5] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 340-41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288-330; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 74-122.

[6] McBride, 1936, p. 309.

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides 354
the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, al- 372
though candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted
by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, [252]
often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were [415]
formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Arau- 361
canian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of 621 ●
houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[11] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohe- 721
sion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit 361
social organization, and it may also have been an expression of 621
their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

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[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

361 621 721 to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A [534] *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was [202] blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

361 574 At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to [576] discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

484 The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very [492 493] much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a 491 masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

nuclear family."[30] Specifically, Murdock mentioned in this regard widespread poverty which inhibits wife purchase, Christian religious principles that forbid polygyny, the concept of private property and its attendant independence, and a shift of inheritance customs from primogeniture to division among a number of heirs.[31] Nearly every one of these modifications and influences has been at work among the Mapuche, with the consequence that their clan system, if they actually had one, has been destroyed; their unilocal, patrilocal household units are no longer maintained; levirate, sororate, and other polygynous arrangements are practically nonexistent; cross-cousin marriage has become a rarity; and yet the old Omaha terminology persists, having survived in spite of drastic changes of marriage, descent, and residence practices. 174 591 174

UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLDS AND POLITICAL UNITS

At no time in their recorded history do the Araucanians seem to have had anything like a formal and comprehensive political structure. When they were fighting major campaigns, they elected supreme commanders and lesser officers at public assemblies of adult males. The orders of these leaders were obeyed throughout the range of the entire tribe. Apparently, such large-scale organization was regarded as an emergency measure for, with the coming of peace, administrative controls reverted to the heads of small local units.[32] Never was there a continuously functioning tribal authority that had jurisdiction in times of peace, nor is there any record of true legislating bodies or procedures. Such "laws" as existed were not precisely formulated, and amounted to no more than traditional usages. Natives refer to them as *admapu* ("customs of the land"[33]) or as *piam* ("it is said"[34]) in the sense of sayings handed down by the ancestors. Even the most widely distributed of these beliefs and practices, 621● [701] 621 626

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[30] Murdock, 1949, p. 203.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–8.

[32] See the treatment of this topic in Cooper, 1946, p. 724.

[33] Molina, 1808, II: 56; Augusta, 1916, I: 1.

[34] Augusta, 1916, I: 178.

621 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire
626 tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran
621 along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have
592 been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[35] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *lov*, *lof*, or *lofche*,[36] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially auton-
592 omous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally,
627 one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *loñko*, and at
his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal
[421] nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the
chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[37] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his
622 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llañkan*
592 that involved his retainers. *Llañkan* was a form of restitution
627 or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors
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[35] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[36] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *lof* as "break" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *lov* for these groups of structures.

[37] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

631 ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are
too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide
a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points.
Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it
functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were
autonomous except during emergencies.

622 From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that
592 far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended
on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal.
[721] Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently
carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In
●[621] this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one,
for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the
[595] number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains
why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great
chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43]
Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to
kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by
those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided
in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal,
patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview
on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la
cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is
also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following
numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

624 Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization,
each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

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[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Housse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

RESERVATION SOCIAL STRUCTURE

621 121 In no province of Araucanian culture is there such a dearth of information as there is with regard to the social composition of a typical reduction. The Mapuche term for a reservation, *trokiñche*, does not throw much light on the problem, as it has no deeper meaning than "an assemblage of people." It was for the purpose of supplying some of the missing information that the first few weeks of intensive field work were devoted primarily to a study of Cautinche's social structure. This reservation was selected as the first base of operations because a preliminary visit had indicated that it was well suited to such a purpose. It is moderately small and lies far enough away from Cholchol to preserve much of its aboriginal quality. Moreover, we were made welcome by the Reverend Juan Antinao and his family, and were permitted to place our caravan in the center of a group of homesteads (Fig. 4). Juan Antinao, the present holder of Cautinche's *título de merced*, is the son of the former *loñko* of the community. He has lived at Cautinche all his life, and he was able to supply many essential data about every one of the reservation's inhabitants.

As the study progressed, we discovered that Cautinche had been founded by a pioneer from Carrarriñe. It developed that the two reservations had other ties in common, which led us to move to Carrarriñe as soon as the detailed analysis of Cautinche had been completed. In due course we learned that Carrarriñe had important links with Renaco. For that reason we decided to investigate Renaco on the completion of the study of Carrarriñe.

This chapter, then, consists of detailed analyses of the social structures of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and Renaco, with a number of general ideas that arose in the course of the work. Cautinche was the most thoroughly investigated as circumstances did not permit equal attention to all three reservations.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

621 131 The district which contains the three reservations lies between the Nahuelbuta coastal mountains on the west and the slopes of the Andes on the east.

slopes of the Andes on the east. This area is characterized by 133
many picturesquely rounded hills, no one of which rises very 621
high above sea level. Throughout much of the year one may see in the distance as many as eight snow-capped volcanic peaks on the eastern horizon, among them the renowned Llaima and Villarica. One outstanding feature of this zone is the Cautín River Valley, and another is the valley of the Cholchol. The Cholchol River and its tributaries flow through much of the region under study, and at Neuva Imperial the Cholchol joins the main branch of the Cautín (Map 2).

Most of the trade contacts of Cautinche, Carrarriñe, and [439]
Renaco are with the Chilean community at Cholchol, which 621
can be reached by unimproved dirt roads. A considerable 484
amount of traffic goes by oxcart in dry weather, but in the rainy winter months travel is limited to horseback. Many transactions also take place in Nueva Imperial, which is a much larger commercial center than Cholchol. This city may be reached in the usual fashion, except for the need of crossing the Cholchol River at Los Boldos (Map 2). A flat raft, pulled hand over hand along [491]
a steel cable by passengers and "crew" (Pl. V, Fig. 2), makes necessary crossings, except when the river is in flood. Nueva [497]
Imperial is situated on the branch line of a railroad that connects with the main line at Temuco, a thriving frontier city of more than 40,000 inhabitants, which is the capital of Cautín Province and is the largest business center in the territory under consideration. Indians from many neighboring reservations visit Temuco regularly, and in fair weather it can be reached from Cholchol by horseback in four to five hours and by oxcart in less than a day. A few trucks and an occasional automobile travel between Cholchol and Temuco with passengers and freight, when road conditions permit. In May, 1948, members 509
of the Temuco flying club began to provide occasional air 621
service to and from Cholchol in a small, single-engined plane. A large crowd gathered on the town's soccer field (Pl. VI, Fig. 2) to watch the landing of the plane when Miss Dorothea Royce, head of the Misión Araucana's hospital, became the first passenger to fly out of Cholchol. Thereafter, for the few who could avail themselves of the service, Cholchol became only fifteen

509 •621 minutes distant from Temuco, and soon the Indians scarcely looked up when they heard a plane in the sky.[1]

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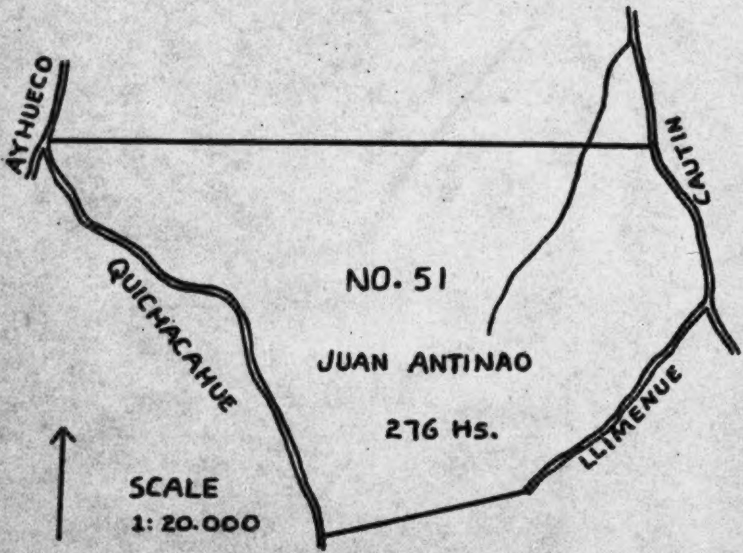

FIG. 5. *Título de Merced* for Cautinche, 1893. Based on an original map in the possession of Juan Antinao. Stream names have been added for purposes of identification of boundaries. The original failed to mark off precise limits.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CAUTINCHE

175 621 Until a century or so ago, the district now called Cautinche had no human occupants. At some time just before 1850 a Carrarriñe man named Antío Paineo built a house near the

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[1] The Reverend Mr. Crawford, a Methodist missionary in Nueva Imperial, flies his own small plane to many reservations in the vicinity. When Raúl González and I were scheduled to leave the field on July 27, 1948, the Cholchol River was in flood, and we were faced with the prospect of a long, circuitous horseback ride in the rain. Luckily, a break in the weather gave us a chance to call for a plane. In the space of about an hour a pilot made two round trips, flying us from Cholchol to Temuco one at a time. Our baggage followed by oxcart.

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Cautín River, not far from house No. 13 on Figure 4. For this reason the settlement came to be known as Cautinche ("people of Cautín"). There are conflicting stories concerning Antío Paineo's reason for moving away from Carrarriñe. Some say that he was driven out for misconduct, but others claim that he was only an alert pioneer who took advantage of an opportunity to lay claim to a good piece of virgin territory. Cautinche's founder chose wisely, for he picked a spot that was both well watered and well drained and that unquestionably had excellent forest and plant cover in those days.

As the founder of Cautinche, Antío Paineo became its first head man or *loñko*. He had several wives and begot a number of sons who, in keeping with unilocal and patrilocal residence practices, lived with him permanently and served as his followers or *kon·as*. Antío Paineo also had a sister, Jacinta, who had gone to live with her husband near by, but her spouse had several wives and treated them badly. After a time, Jacinta left her husband and came to live with her brother, bringing along a son named Juan Antinao Paineo. Antío Paineo reared his nephew with his own sons and apparently gave him training as a *werken* and a potential heir to the chieftainship. At any rate, when Antío Paineo died, his succession was disputed between his son, Dionisio Paillao and his sister's son, Juan Antinao Paineo. Although the son was traditionally favored to succeed, he was judged in council to lack the force of character and oratorical skill that were highly regarded in a leader, and Juan was elected *loñko*. He proved to be an able leader,[3] and during the period when reservations were being formed he was given an official *título de merced* on December 19, 1893, that entitled him to 276 hectares for the use of forty-four kinfolk (see Fig. 5). One gathers that Dionisio Paillao and some of his brothers were not satisfied to have their late father's prerogatives transferred to a nephew, for they soon began to leave the paternal roof and to build separate homes of their own. Since no one in those days had a precisely defined individual plot of ground, much

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[3] While the main facts of the story are doubtless correct, it should be borne in mind that this narrative was told by Juan Antinao Paineo's son.

bickering arose as the community expanded, and accusations 175
of trespass were bandied back and forth. Very likely the situa- 621 ●
tion became worse when Juan Antianao Paineo died and left
the Cautinche title to his son, the present Reverend Juan
Antinao. At that time Juan was not yet converted to Chris-
tianity, and he was much given to drink. Things grew worse 621
423

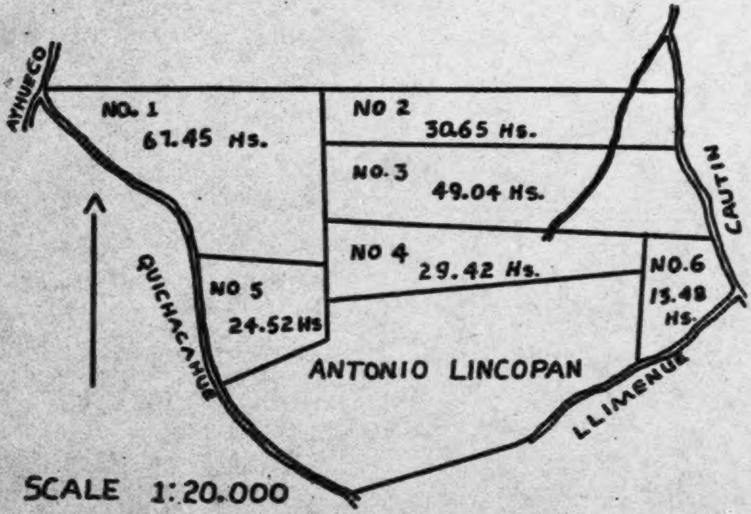
AYHUECO
NO. 1
67.45 HS.
NO 2
30.65 HS.
NO. 3
49.04 HS.
NO 4
29.42 HS.
NO 5
24.52 HS
NO. 6
13.48
HS.
ANTONIO LINCOPAN
QUICHACAHUE
CAUTIN
LLIMENUE
SCALE 1:20.000

FIG. 6. Cautinche allotments in 1917. From an original drawing owned by Juan Antinao. As in Figure 5, precise boundaries are not established. Antonio Lincopan, who unlike other holders is named but not numbered, received 61.44 hectares.

and worse, and incessant quarreling threatened to disrupt the settlement. At last it was decided to petition the Chilean authorities to subdivide Cautinche and to allot land in severalty to specific owners. The reservation was partitioned on November 12, 1917 (Fig. 6). Juan Antinao received 67.45 hectares and promptly built himself a new home on his own land (house No. 1 on Fig. 4). Thereafter, other householders followed suit until Cautinche took on its current appearance, as shown in Figure 4.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CAUTINCHE

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In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION OF CAUTINCHE'S POPULATION[3]

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	2	4	7
5	2	1	2	5
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	2	6	9
11	2	2	9	13
12	1	1	4	6
13	2	2	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	2	10	13
Totals	20	21	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

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[3] The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 4. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that statistical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no longstanding bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees. 621 162 592

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES 621 162

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women. 595

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[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *lonkos* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

621 One must not lose sight of the fact that Cautinche was first settled by a unilocal, patrilocal group which retained its essential structure for some time. Even today the reservation may be regarded, broadly speaking, as a sort of multilocal, patrilineal kinship group. With a single exception, all the men are related. Occupants of houses Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 15 trace their ancestry back to Juan Antinao Paineo, and the owners of houses Nos. 3, 5, 9, 16, and 17 to his cousin, Dionisio Paillao. Only the occupant of No. 14, Oligario Nankucheyo, is genealogically unconnected with the others. He first came to Cautinche as a laborer for his wife's uncle, Antonio Huircapan, of house No. 10, and now works for him on half shares. Oligario Nankucheyo moved from the Yauyahuenche subdivision of Malalche, his home reservation, because he had no land of his own. He and his wife may be called the only "immigrants" in Cautinche. They arrived about three years ago and have become so well adjusted that they are liked by all their neighbors.

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TABLE IV

Cautinche School Roster

Home Reservation	Boys	Girls	Total
Cautinche	12	9	21
Denencuhue	6	8	14
Curaco	2	2	4
Boldoche	3	0	3
Catrimalal	0	2	2
Ayehueco	0	1	1
Huichicon	0	1	1
Totals[7]	23	23	46

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[7] Although forty-six pupils are shown on the official roster, half of the number generally missed attendance, and some "students" probably never came to class. Since teachers are paid on the basis of enrollments, there is a tendency to exaggerate the size of a school's roster.

One other case that is somewhat irregular because it involves 591
an instance of matrilocal residence deserves mention. Santiago Huircan, owner of House No. 6, is only distantly related to Cautinche's founder. He was born in Catrimalal and lived there until about 1938. At that time his wife, who is the daughter of Juan Antinao's brother, inherited some eighteen hectares at Cautinche. Thereupon, the couple moved to Cautinche and Santiago began to farm on his wife's land. There is no feeling of strangeness towards this family, and they have been completely accepted by the Cautinche community.

HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF CARRARRIÑE

Like Cautinche, Carrarriñe lies between Chile's coastal ranges 621
and the Andes, and its topography also is featured by gently [131]
sloping hills. Here the major drainage is provided by the 133
Cholchol River, which runs close by the eastern boundary of the reservation. Several streamlets flow across the area, and in the rainy season the low-lying lands are often flooded. There are many indications of aboriginally dense forest cover, but the region is currently bare of trees except where groves of eucalyptus or apple orchards have recently been planted (Frontispiece). [245]
Unimproved dirt roads connect Carrarriñe with Nueva Imperial [491]
and Cholchol.

Carrarriñe is a much larger reduction than is Cautinche. It 621
contains 1,438 hectares, officially known as parcel or *hijuela* 54 (see Fig. 7). Title to this land is in the name of Antonio Painemal, who is accordingly the nominal chief. Two adjacent reservations, Picuta and Tromenguelo (Figs. 7, 8), are so closely linked with Carrarriñe that all three may be regarded as comprising a kind of "Greater Carrarriñe."[8] It was not possible to ascertain the true nature of the relationships that exist among the three districts, but it appears likely that division occurred at one time or another when reservation boundaries and land titles were being regularized. A former Carrarriñe man, Mulato Chihuaihuen, is said to have set himself up as an independent

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[8] That part of Coigue which is shown on Figure 7 is also said by some informants to be part of "Greater Carrarriñe."

621 chief of Tromenguelo almost a century ago. At an unspecified
date Rosario Morales, a Chilean interpreter who spoke fluent
621 Mapuche, is believed to have taken advantage of his govern-
173 ment connections to acquire title to the 480 hectares that make
[526] up Picuta. Nowadays, both Tromenguelo and Picuta have their

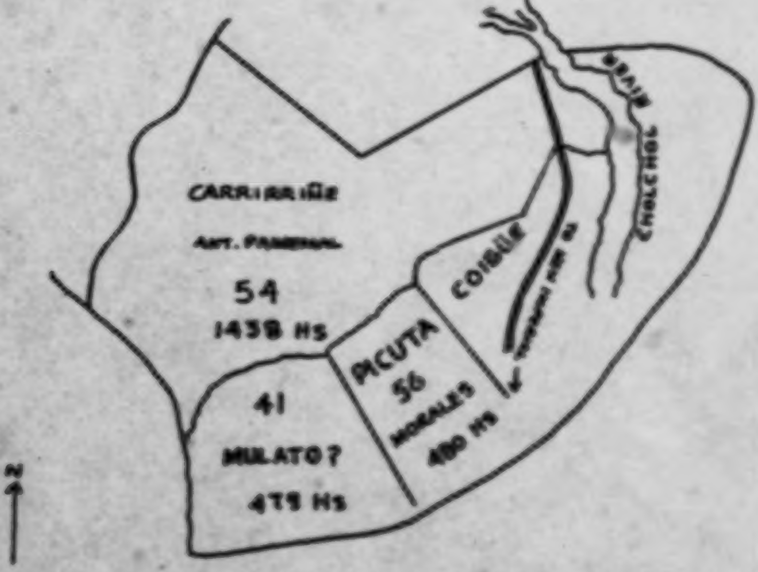

Fig. 7. *Título de Merced* for Carrarriñe. Redrawn from the original in the office of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization in Temuco. Parcels 41 and 56, known respectively as Tromenguelo and Picuta, seem to have been given reservation status at the request of former Carrarriñe residents.

own chiefs, hockey fields, and prayer grounds, and are regarded as independent reservations.[9]

There are two varying stories of Carrarriñe's founding. According to one version it was settled by a band which left Renaco because of overcrowding or on account of a quarrel over

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[9] Somewhat similar divisions or three-in-one situations were reported for other communities, such as Malalche and Tranahuillín.

a woman. According to the other version a large group of 621
Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at 173
Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at
Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco
while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name
most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo
who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives,
arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called
Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a
Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is
descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded
his father as *lonko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch
of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his
first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor
of another important family.

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, 621
Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous 578
offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, 526
these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least
three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo.
The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to
hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because
they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At
Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with
the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized
by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl.
XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is
linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and
a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6).
Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when
Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own
home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's
dispute over schools.

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to 621
Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some 578
land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in 871
Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the

Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival 621 ●
instructor named Martín Dumingbual opened an independent 578
school with government support. A series of quarrels broke 871
out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 621
1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V.

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cau- 621
tinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation [592]
exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of 161
Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for 592
thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there.

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161
592

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF CARRARRIÑE'S POPULATION

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	4
14	6
15	5
16	2
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	12
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	3
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	12
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	8
Total	224

2

The absence of a church and resident pastor provides the 621
basis for another contrast with Cautinche. Sunday services are 797
conducted in the schoolhouse either by the local teacher or by a
visiting member of the Misión Araucana's staff from Cholchol.
A small number of Carrarriñe folk have had civil or church
weddings, and much of the population has been baptized at
one time or another, but one sees very little evidence of intense
devotion to Christianity. Two active *machis* reside on the [756]
reservation (Fig. 8, No. 26),[10] and native ceremonies are held
at intervals. Only a few of the older people speak fluent Spanish, [191]
and some of the others have no command of the language at
all.

Thirty-five children, from seven to sixteen years of age, are 161
registered in the main school taught by Domingo Carilaf. There
are ten boys and nineteen girls from Carrarriñe and five boys 871
and three girls from Boldoche (see Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). School
matters play a prominent part in the internal affairs of the
reduction. There is, or was, an Araucanian Educational Society
that met regularly, at least between October, 1933, and August,
1947. It elected officers, collected dues, and made decisions with
regard to the selection of teachers, location of buildings, procurement of equipment, and related matters. Women, as well
as men, were enrolled as members, and the activities of the
group are suggestive of PTA affairs in the United States.

In this reduction one of the most striking differences from 621
Cautinche is the large number of unwed adults: five widowers, 161
eleven widows, twenty-two spinsters, and twenty-six bachelors.
This must not be interpreted to imply a high level of celibacy.
A more realistic interpretation, suggested by informants, indicates [532]
that under the allotment system it is becoming increasingly difficult for young men to secure enough land to enable
them to support wives and families. Also because of economic
pressure, a few men and women annually leave the reservation [167]
to look for work in cities or on privately owned estates.

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[10] The house of only one of the *machis* is shown in Figure 8. Her house and *rewe* are pictured (Pl. VII, Fig. 2).

BACKGROUND AND DESCRIPTION OF RENACO

621 Renaco, a small reduction of 275 hectares, lies about four
[131] kilometers northeast of Cholchol. Title is held by the *loñko*,
133 Fermín Nahuelhual. The terrain falls into two divisions, a hilly section that is part of the eastern foothills of the Nahuelbuta coastal range, and a flat meadow-like area which is drained by the Renaco stream that enters the Cholchol River at Cholchol. Since there are only nine houses, with a populace of fifty-six, it might seem that there is enough land for all, but much of the hilly ground is unsuited for growing wheat, and the lowland receives too much moisture to yield good crops.

175 Renaco was settled, probably in 1825, by Araucanians who
621 had crossed the Andes from Argentina. The first family to arrive was that of Collío Huenchual, from whom the present chief is descended. All the householders now living on the reservation are members of a single large family. Three men have built homes in the hilly section (Fig. 9, Nos. 2, 4, 5), and the others are spread over the meadow, with the leader's house (Fig. 9, No. 1) more or less centrally located. As long ago as 1885 a traveler described Renaco as having six to eight houses, "forming the only approach to anything like a village that we met in the whole country."[11]

621 In 1948 the Misión Araucana established a school that is
797 taught by a young man, Antonio, eldest son of Segundo Huen-
871 chual (Fig. 9, No. 2). The teacher claims to have a gross enrollment of fifty pupils, with an average attendance of thirty nine.[12] One room of a utility building next to Segundo Huenchual's dwelling serves as the sole classroom.

621 At Renaco the hockey field and the ritual ground are distinct
[526] (see Fig. 9). There is no resident *machi* at present, although it
[756] was claimed that a male *machi* named José Teuque once lived on the reservation. Despite the presence of a ceremonial area, no *ñillatun* has been held at Renaco for more than ten years.

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[11] Smith, 1855, p. 285.

[12] This figure may well be too high. See footnote 7 of this chapter.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 162 592 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Teuque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster.

TABLE VI
DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	2	3	2	7
Totals	15	14	27	56

592 621

162 595 Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor 621
son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. 162
All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reser- 592
vations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected 595
wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a
fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants 621
with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in
this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which 174
a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

● 621
174

spring groups became politically, spatially, and economically detached from the parental settlements, but they established sociological links with one another through the agency of cross-cousin marriage.

To venture just one step further into the realm of hypothesis, there is something in the social composition of the reductions that makes them appear like patrilocal units which are dispersed into a number of multilocal residences. If one imagines a vast roof extending over the entire limits of a reservation, each of them could be viewed as an old-fashioned patrilocal, unilocal residence. In other words, a small reduction, such as Cautinche or Renaco, probably contains much the same association of individuals as would have made up the traditional *loñko's* household and following; and a large reservation like Carrariñe comprises an aggregation of several such households. In some ways the dynamic process by which new Araucanian communities were formed resembles the kind of segmentation which has been discussed elsewhere in connection with the Hopi and other societies.[11]

Great, indeed, is the contrast between the theoretical organization based on the unilocal practices of the past and the actual state of affairs in the present. Each married man usually lives in his own dwelling, which averages six occupants. Few ties hold together the coresidents of a reservation, and divisive tendencies may be noted on each reduction. Relations between communities likewise tend to be slight, but complete isolation is prevented through contacts brought about primarily by reservation exogamy, school attendance at near-by reductions, and participation in *ñillatuns* and the large assemblies known as *kawiñ* or *trawun*.

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[11] Titiev, 1944, pp. 46–48; 1943, pp. 522–30.

533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is ülkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naïve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprises a varying

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[4] Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5] For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6] The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, 621
patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and 592
most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's
reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since mar- [591]
ried sons continued to live under their father's roof;[7] but the
modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautin
River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent
houses (*rucas*) on their natal reservations.

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence 621
of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza,
no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests
the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[8] Corresponding-
ly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of com-
munity enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of [574]
visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on
the same reserve, but inter-*reducción* contacts are compara-
tively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy
months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all [484]
but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore,
every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in 796
the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as *kawin*
or *trawin* are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[9] Whatever their particular aims

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[7] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," *Amer. Anthropol.*, XLV (1943), 511-30.

[8] The limits of each *reducción* are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[9] Public assemblies may be called *kawin* or *trawin*. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulojio Robles R., "Costumbres i

342 622 The huts of the chiefs and principal men are divided by bamboo screens, each wife having her separate sleeping and cooking place; but among the unmarried the same confusion prevails.

621 The Indian villages are never large, seldom containing more than a dozen huts, generally fewer. This dislike to congregating in numbers is probably a relic of their old hunting instinct, and dates from the time when their mode of life necessitated an extensive tract of country for the requirements of each family or clan.

352 The household effects are of the scantiest and rudest description. They use no tables, and their seats are either rough benches or blocks of wood; although the Indian for the most part squats cross-legged on the ground. They make a rude kind of bedstead of four forked sticks, planted in the ground. Two parallel bars are placed in the forks, and a horse or bullock hide is stretched tightly across them and fastened by strips of hide. Their beds consist of piles of sheep skins with the wool still on, or bundles of rushes covered with coarse native-made blankets. Another bundle of rushes or roll of skins forms a pillow, although this latter is frequently wanting.

[854] The native cradle is rather ingenious. It is a kind of basket hung from the roof by cords, generally over the bed of the mother, who can thus swing it without rising.

415 The cooking utensils consist of coarse earthenware pots of different sizes; and the meals are eaten from roughly hollowed wooden platters with rude spoons of the same material. Their clothes, when not in use, are kept in large hide sacks, suspended from wooden hooks fastened in the uprights of the house. *Each wife has her separate fire, cooks the food and attends to the wants of her own progeny.*

356 Although the Araucanos are cleanly in their persons they are not so in their households; and, as in most inferior communities, they form a happy family, the pigs, poultry, dogs, cats, etc., all sleeping under the same roof.

286 [221] 283 [239] *Weaving.*—The first material used by the Araucanos in their weaving was the fibre of certain plants and the inner bark of determined trees, especially the *spocha* (*bromelia landbecki*), which to-day are only utilised for making ropes, baskets, cords, and fishing lines. Now they use the wool obtained from their numerous flocks.

283 To twist the wool they use a very simple spindle, shaped like a shuttle and about 10 inches long. At the lower end is fixed a perforated stone disc. The wool is taken in the left hand and wound around the left arm, the right hand being used to twirl the spindle and draw out the wool. 286 Their looms are also very primitive and easily constructed, and being adjustable can be used for any sized cloth required. The vertical frame is about 5 feet high, with a series of holes ½ inch in diameter and about 6 inches apart, to allow the regulation of the crossbar which indicates the width of the piece to be woven. The cross-beams top and bottom are fixed to the uprights by wooden pegs, and the top one can be

near the snow land, was the region of the lower Andes, and *Pire-mapu*, snow land, the upper ranges. 131

The error was fallen into of considering these as political divisions, instead of geographical; a mistake in which many later writers have continued. As a matter of fact there was no political organisation, as we understand the term, and the Araucanos recognised no supreme chief, save only in times of great national peril, and then only in a military sense, and by public election. The danger over, they returned to their former customs, the functions of the chief ceasing from the moment the army was disbanded. 631

The basis of their social and political life is the family, which develops into a clan, and afterwards a tribe, absolutely independent one from the other. The clan itself was called *lov*, the village occupied by it *rehue*, the group of villages inhabited by the tribe *ailla-rehue*, literally nine villages. 619 621 ● [594]

The clan or *lov* was governed by the head of the family or *ulmen*, the tribe by the hereditary descendant of the founder or *apo-ulmen*, a contraction of *mapu-ulmen*, chief of the land.

Their villages were small, the third generation generally leaving them to form another, at a short distance away. 621

The authority of these chiefs descended from father to eldest son, save in the case of physical or mental incapability, when a new chief is chosen, generally another son, brother, or near relative of the deceased. 622

The authority of these *ulmens* is, however, little more than nominal, and is confined almost exclusively to the direction of their feasts and ceremonies, and in a lesser degree to the political economy of the group.

All important matters are treated in common council by the adult males, the chief presiding at the meeting. No tribute is paid him, neither is he exempt from sharing the daily tasks of the clan, although in a general way he assumes the management. [623]

Both the *ulmens* and *apo-ulmens* are known under the common title of *toqui*, from the stone axe worn round their necks, which is a symbol of their authority and which bears that name. The Spaniards following the custom prevalent through the whole of America gave them the generic name of cacique.

In time of national warfare, the tribes of the different zones or *mapus*, also called *vutanmapus*, united under a general or war chief called *toqui*. This post was usually hereditary during the time of the Spanish wars, although in the beginning the occupant was elected from among the most famous warriors by popular vote. 619 701

When the Araucanos began to adopt a more sedentary life, it became necessary to establish more firmly their *admapu* (customs of the land), or code of laws. Their quarrels were formerly settled by an appeal to arms; now however the *ulmen* called together the elders of the clan and they deliberated on the evidence given, and imposed punishment for the crime committed. It was not considered necessary to hear the offender. 627

683 In the case of death by sorcery, the guilty were condemned to die by fire in the manner already described.

681 Murder, maiming, adultery, robbery, or any minor crime were punished by a fine, to be paid by the offender or his relatives. In the case of murder, if the prisoner were poor and unable to pay, he was generally condemned to death, and immediately on sentence being given was led out and despatched with a stone club. It frequently happened, however, that the condemned and his relations offered resistance to the decisions of the council. This almost invariably happened if he belonged to another clan or tribe. The result was a *malon* or sudden attack, and was the source of continual intertribal warfare.

The law of retaliation was the only one understood, although the keen commercial spirit of the Araucano led him to forego personal vengeance for its accruing profit. Thus every injury had its price, which varied with the importance of the offended. The price of a death, and in this case accidental death, or homicide in self-defence, ranked with murder, was that of ten *llancas*, strings of green and black stones, generally silicates of copper. This payment was called *llancatun*. Traitors and kidnappers were also punished with death.

685 Robbery committed in the same clan or tribe was compounded by a payment in kind, but with considerable increase according to the social position of the offender. If caught in the act he was publicly whipped, sometimes to death.

684 Adultery was not considered as an outrage to the honour of the husband, but a damage to the feminine property of the offended, and was punished by him at will, either by the death of the wife, or her sale, but most frequently by a heavy compensation by the co-respondent, except in the case of the culpable parties being caught *flagrante delicto* when the husband was within his right in slaying them both.

682 Parricide, infanticide, wife-murder, intentional abortion, and similar acts committed within the first rank of blood relations were not considered as crimes, it being held that these relations were of the same blood, and that it was allowable for anyone to shed his own blood.

684 Immorality and indecency, even the most depraved, were not considered as faults, the men and single girls enjoying unquestioned right to dispose of themselves and their bodies as they thought fit, and during their feasts the utmost licence prevailed, absolutely no bonds of relationship being recognised in their drunken amours, even incest being of the most frequent occurrence.

648 At present the jurisdiction of the tribes is nominally under the charge of the Chilian judicial authorities; but only in extreme cases are these courts appealed to, the Indians still retaining their old customs in the majority of districts, although there is an increasing tendency to recur to these tribunals in all civil cases.

601
621 *Relationship.*—Among the Araucanos, relationship was recognised to the fourth generation. This, and the fact of polygamy being an institution among them, accounts for the fact of the family groups, clans, and tribes, being at times very powerful, a chief's importance, socially and politically, depending directly on the

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[62]

number of male relations he could muster and on the number of unmarried daughters (basis of future alliances and riches) that he possessed.

Three ranks of relationship were recognised:—

(1) Those of direct ascent or descent: consanguinity.

(2) Collateral ascent or descent:

(3) Relations by courtesy: Marriage relations.

The first class were as follows:

Father, *chau.*
Father's father, *lacu.*
Father's grandfather, *epuchi lacu* = twice grandfather.
Father's great grandfather, *culachi lacu* = three times grandfather.
Father's mother, *cucu.*
Father's grandmother, *epuchi cucu.*
Father's great grandmother, *culachi cucu.*
Mother, *niuke* or *papai* (*pa-pie*).
Mother's father, *chedchi.*
Mother's grandfather, *epuchi chedchi.*
Mother's great grandfather, *culachi chedchi.*
Mother's mother, *llalla* (*lya-lya*) in the northern provinces and *chuchu* in southern.
Mother's grandmother, *epuchi llalla.*
Mother's great grandmother, *culachi llalla.*
Son, *votem.*
Son's son, *lacu*, same as grandfather by father's side; really means blood relative (male) once removed.
Son's grandson (always direct male line), *epuchi lacu.*
Son's great-grandson, *culachi lacu.*
Daughter, *niahue.*
Daughter's son, *chedchi.*
Daughter's grandson, *epuchi chedchi.*
Daughter's great grandson, *culachi chedchi.*

The daughter's progeny and their descendants are called by the same names as the mother's ascendants; *cucu, epuchi cucu, culachi cucu, llalla*, etc.

The collateral relatives were named as follows:—

Brother, *peñi.*
Brother's son, *malyi.*
Brother's grandson, *lacu.*
Brother's daughter, *malyi niahue.*
Brother's granddaughter, *chedchi.*
Sister, *lamgen.*
Sister's son, *choquem.*
Sister's grandson, *chale choquem.*
Sister's daughter, *malen choquem.*

263 Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained
[317] from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat)
flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were
customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according
to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav,
415 1648, p. 285.) Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve
shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery
plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more
352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on
the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper,
but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number,
usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each
in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up
within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for
fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51)
or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement
or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat
greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located
[621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally
speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648,
p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or
712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade.
(Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

602 [604] One point stands out: The relationship, according to Havestadt (1883, 2:704), which was of greatest esteem was the llopu one between maternal uncle and maternal nephew; the former had to give his daughters to the latter in marriage; the latter had to help his maternal uncle in all things. There is no record of institutionalized joking relationship among kin.

601 **Kinship terminology.**—The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex. It is of the Omaha type (cf. supra under Marriage) insofar as a man calls his mother's brother's daughter "mother," and she calls him "son," and in some other respects (Hallowell, 1943). It is made up predominantly, though not exclusively, of reciprocal terms. It is in large measure classificatory. There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century, as evidenced by comparison of Luis de Valdivia's (1887) list of 1606 and Febrés' (1882) of 1765, and Havestadt's (1883) of 1777 with Guevara Silva's (1904, pp. 24–27; 1908, pp. 64–66; 1913, pp. 191–94) and Félix José's (1916).

SOCIOPOLITICAL CULTURE

● 621 619 **Political structure.**—Our sources are so vague and often so conflicting as regards so much of the sociopolitical structure of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* that it is impossible to reconstruct therefrom a full, rounded, and consistent picture.

622 *Some major features of the system, however, are quite clear.* There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp 370–74).

Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

619 in our sources. According to one witness (cited by Latcham, 1922 b, p. 363), no one cavi was subject to any other cavi; according to Mariño 631 de Lovera (1865, p. 140), the heads of the machullas were subject to 622 the head of the cabí which the machullas constituted. Given the general democratic decentralized pattern of *Mapuche-Huilliche* political life, we may be reasonably confident that such "subjection" of smaller to larger unit in the political hierarchy as may have existed must have been close to purely nominal.

622 Each small "farming community" of three to seven or more huts (cf. supra under Settlements) had its own headman, a richer or older man or a descendant of caciques. (Ascasubi, 1846, p. 355; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 124, 140.) Luis de Valdivia (1887, s. v.) defined cūga (kuga) not only as a lineage and as the name thereof, but also as "la cabeça de parientes, el que es como cacique, e indio principal." Rosales (1877–78, 1:137) states that the "caciques," who with the "toquies" are the only persons of dignity, were "las cabezas de las familias y linajes, de modo que no tiene un cacique que le reconozca mas de los de su linage." How and where these headmen of farming communities and heads of families or kinship groups fitted into the political hierarchy above outlined is not clear from our sources. The 621 facts we have seem best explained on the provisional hypothesis that the small farming communities, and perhaps clusters of such communities, constituting machullas and cavis respectively, were exclusively or preponderantly made up of closely related kin.

In the course of time, particularly after the beginning of the 622 19th century, a certain increase of executive and judicial power and authority accrued to peacetime headmen of the different ranks, and the earlier atomistic peacetime political structure assumed somewhat greater unity, cohesion, and hierarchization. But the basic democratic forms and functions persisted largely intact. (For military organization, see infra under Warfare.)

Law and legal procedure.—The chief crimes recognized were adult-674 ery and wife-stealing, murder, theft, homicidal sorcery, and treason. 627 The offended party and his kin dealt with the offender; in earlier times, headmen and other caciques had little or no authority to try cases or 754 to pronounce judgment. Adultery, murder, and sorcery were punishable by death, and sometimes were actually so punished; but, more commonly, in cases of adultery and murder, composition was resorted to, with payment of strings of llaŋkas, 10 such strings for one death. Marcgrav (1648, p. 287) states that the sorcerer was burnt alive—as is also recorded among the Argentine *Araucanians* by Barbará (1930, p. 44). (Cf. similar *Chiriguano* treatment of sorcerers, and Molina, 1901, p. 154, on torture of sorcerers to force revelation of accomplices. For fuller details on law and judicial procedure, cf., e. g., Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 40–60.)

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians

bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, 177
p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280).

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 621
large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman
of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95– 622
101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the 551
names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but *not by a stranger.*

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–32), to be born with more 826
than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the
whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones 847
or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off
to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike 854
cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 70); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder.

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the 881
Argentine Araucanians.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175–76, and 1880, p. 30, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobio conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Marigueño, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the easiest passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most provident climate.[12]

● 621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos,* in later ones *reguas,* composed a larger unit known as the *allaregua* (or *aillareve*). Each allaregua was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five allareguas, but the context in which he mentions them *suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.*[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

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669 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

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[11] Olaverría, p. 20.

[12] Marmolejo, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 139-142).

[13] Olaverría, p. 21.

175 361 621 722 Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and brush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche.[2] There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidification on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less affected in both rate and degree of change.

[64] Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevertheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times.

601 Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast.

601 178 There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern.

601 On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from these and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in-

(550) ordinarily succeeded him. If the eldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conferences of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible. The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly,
622 the ülmen, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for
627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of his choice, known as lepin. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Juzgados de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by
648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the
● 621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu
[623] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a küpalme. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Llenlef; Chan Chan, family Martin; Pelluco, family Inigo; Mehuín, families Huechuman, Maripán, and Manfiel; Maiquillahue, family

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Coñiñiel; and Queule, "but Queule has no predominating family; it did not belong to the Araucanians until recent years." 621 ●

In Alepúe area, boundaries of witran mapu are creeks, rivers, ravines, and the Pacific Ocean. In Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, they are lakes, rivers, and mountain ridges; in Boroa area, rivers, creeks, ridges of hills, and the Pacific.

In the early days several witran mapu united into an organization [631] called aillarewe for such joint activities as the ngillatun or protection against Spanish invaders. (Cf. Cooper, 1946, pp. 725-726.) An aillarewe was presided over by an outstanding cacique selected by the other caciques of the aillarewe.

Domingo Huenun of Panguipulli, over 70 years old, recorded in a notebook, at the dictation of his granduncle, Antinial Huenu, an old man, the witran mapu of about 1930. These are given in table 4. The granduncle feared that the knowledge of them would be lost, if not written down somewhere. The witran mapu, the old man said, were those that he knew existed when he was a boy. The same notebook contained the names of past caciques of each unit, "those from very, very early times." In the granduncle's childhood days every boy was expected to be able to recite them from memory.

Today, as formerly, each witran mapu is headed by a cacique. 622 Formerly, it was customary for the eldest son of a deceased cacique to inherit the position. After the cacique's death, the men of his witran mapu met. Women, also, were often present, and, if they were capable [512] speakers, expressed their opinions at the meeting. Those assembled decided whether the eldest son was fit to be their cacique. If he was not considered an able man, another of the cacique's sons was chosen to fill the vacancy. If it happened that no son was considered fit, a man from another family was selected. "If the son of a cacique was able to speak well, could be relied on to carry messages, and to conduct meetings, and in general was an intelligent man, he was approved of."

Today, a meeting is seldom held to scrutinize a candidate's qualifications. In general, the eldest son takes over, either of his own volition or because he is encouraged to do so by interested and outstanding men of his witran mapu or by interested outsiders. When the old cacique of Alepúe area died (1947), his 45-year-old son, José Manuel Lienlaf, became the recognized cacique "because people went to him for advice and petitioned him to call the people together for a ngillatun. Huaiquil, the late cacique of Malalhue, had no son to inherit his position, so the eldest man took it upon himself to be the cacique—he is older than 100 years." In 1947 the cacique for Panguipulli was Inpan

10: Hilger E-S (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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TABLE 4.—*Wítran mapu and their caciques in Chile and Argentina from "very, very, very early times," according to Antolaf Huaitra*

Wítran mapu	Caciques
CHILE	
Panguipulli	Millanguer
	Aillapang
	Catriñaquir
	Panguilef
	Truful
	Pailleman
	Panul
	Kalfülhuala
	Rangaiman
	Panul
	Huaitra
Cayumapu	Ñamcupan
	Millapiñan
	Caripan
	Huaiquipan
	Maripan
Trakapulli	Huenuñañ
	Huenulef
	Pinolef
	Panchülaf
	Pinolef
	Catrinamcu, son of Liencañ
	Pichicanlecura
	Millañamcu, and then the son of Quintuman*
	Truvulef, and then the son of Quintullan*
Pallimapu	Mañquepiuala
	Callihuala
	Millihuala
	Caurupan
	Rayapan
	Cayulef
	Antihuala
Cañarige	Trupañamcu
	Polquiñañ
	Liqüiray
	Trupiuañ
	Marilhuenu
Llancañao	Calihuillan
	Marilhuan
	Trafulañamcu
	Antilhuenu
	Loncoñamco
	Colihuen
Caririgi	Llayuquir
	Paineguir
	Chapuñamcuhuel
	Pichillao
Lliquiñe	Caulipan
	Panguilef
	Ynalhuala
	Caripan
ARGENTINA	
Raymalmen	Ñaquiman
	Kanuñamco
	Antihuala
	Mañquelef
	Pailecura
	Catrihuala
	Cariman
Chapelquin	Liencapan
	Ñirilef
	Huilicura
	Nahuecura
Truful	Huenchulaiquen
	Pollo
	Uenchumangue
Ranculhued	Caleñ
	Millañañ
Kallgueñ	Ñancuhuilo, who died in war
	Pascual
	Trunantil
Malleleu	Huenuquir
	Kalviquir
	Pacha Trupañ
	Pichi Trupañ
Ñancupuyen	Huirian
	Naguichian
	Lienalao
	Kanulef
	Yanitrulef
Kurfüen	Collileu
	Catrileu
	Lonolef
Aueguenco	Rainill
	Raymamgue

* Indicates man out of direct line of caciques, but a choice of the people.

764 Saiko had seen several grave markers, figurines cut out of wood, in old Araucanian cemeteries. They were approximately 30 inches high, and reminded him of pictures he had seen of Easter Island and other Polynesian island wood carvings.

766 Formerly, there was no exterior sign of mourning, but families grieved to the extent that they moved to another locality and lived there until their grief was no longer keenly felt. Today the Argentine custom of wearing a black band on the upper part of the sleeve is followed. Women sometimes also wear a black belt and black shawl.

775 There is a belief in life after death. The Araucanian word for the spirit of the dead is alwə; for life after death, ka mapu (other world).

GOVERNMENT

THE CACIQUE AND THE POLITICAL UNIT

622 623 In the early days, the management of government was in the control of the cacique (loŋko). At times he was assisted by men known as inka or kellu, among them the captain and sergeant of the ŋillatun. His advisory body consisted of men of families who owned considerable property; such men, known as ül'men, were summoned for consultation at the will of the cacique. In Huechulafquen, where Kolupan was reared, Takumai was the kellu; ül'men there were of the families known as Takuman and Paillakaye.

621 A cacique's jurisdiction extended over a lofche, a group of 20 to 60 families that recognized him as their cacique and that, when spoken of, were designated by his name. "The Argentines call these groups tribes. They fabricated that word," said Kolupan. "We call these lofche. The only lofche of importance today—that is, one that can deal with the Argentine Government as an equal—is the Namunkurá of Collón Curá. Old people that gave the other lofche importance have all died. No informants knew the meaning of the words kuga and elpa mentioned in Cooper's sources (1946, pp. 722-723). I am inclined to believe that the words had their origin in the Quechua language and mean the same as lofche and do not indicate a clan or gens (cf. Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía, vol. 10, pp. 154-155, 1914, and Hilger, 1954, pp. 38-40).

Within a lofche groups of families were related by ties of kinship. Names of groups, influential over the years, in the order of their importance were Namunkurá, Kolunkura, Kallfükura, Katrükura, Katrial, Panüwal, Pañüinau, Melifilanku, Liŋkoan, Pañüfilu, and Kayén; important, but less influential ones were Treolil, Kolupan, Kintuman, Cheokipan, and Mañke.

Each lofche was the recognized legitimate occupant of a vast area 423
of land—maybe the owner of it, in relationship to other tribes. Boundaries of a lofche's area were natural ones, such as rivers or their large 621 ●
tributaries, and foothills or valleys of the Cordillera. The cacique of 622
the lofche, in conference with his ül'men, partitioned a section of the area equitably among his people for grazing, letting the rest of the area grow in grass for future grazings. Each family, then, had recognized exclusive rights to its allotted grazing land. The boundary lines of a family's land, also, were usually natural ones, such as a creek, rock formations, or small hills. Occasionally a fence (malál) was erected between allotments. If a man found that his allotted land was not sufficient for his herds, he might obtain an additional grazing area by an agreement with a man who had land to spare. Kolupan explained [556
it thus: "We always had very rich people—these were the ül'men; 565]
and very poor people—these were the lifta. A rich man might have 4,000-5,000 horses, 500-600 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep. The cacique had told him that he could not have grazing land for so many. But such a man needed more grazing land; so another man let him use some of his, with the understanding that he, the legitimate assignee to the land, would get one-half of all animals born on his land. It sometimes happened, formerly, that a man of the ül'men class fell into the lifta class, because his herds and flocks were depleted by an epidemic or a destructively heavy snowfall or lack of water due to drought. When the army took over, everyone fell into the class of the lifta. The army took our large land holdings, most of our animals, and drove us farther and farther into narrow valleys of the Cordillera." A cacique might feel justified in redistributing the land, but he had no jurisdiction over the animals in his lofche unless a quarrel ensued between owners because of them.

The cacique also decided the time when his lofche was to move to 622
new grazing grounds. The daughter of the late cacique of Trumpul told of the movements of her lofche at the direction of its cacique: "My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and my father were caciques. When my great-grandfather held the position of cacique, our people lived in Ketchuquina; he died there. My grandfather then became cacique. He had not been cacique long before he moved his people to Vega Mapu; later, he moved them back to Ketchuquina. Then came the great malón (massacre), and he fled to Chile with his lofche. When that was ended, he moved his lofche back to Trumpul (Argentina), and what is left of our lofche today lives there."

One of the important duties of the cacique was to set the time for the celebration of the gillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, and

622 "I have never seen one like this; this looks like a revolver! I have heard old people tell that formerly a cacique had in his house an axlike implement that indicated to others he had authority. I have forgotten its Araucanian name. But that was an ax; it was nothing like this thing." An 85-year-old woman agreed with Kolupan, and added that the axlike implement passed from a cacique, at his death, to his heir. Toki, similar to the one shown on plate 74, 5, are exhibited in the Museo de La Plata and the Museo Nahuel Huapi, and there are some in private collections in Argentina—these were found in very old graves in Argentina. One was found by well diggers deep in the earth in Pucón (Chile). These toki, except one in the Museo Nahuel Huapi, are of dark ungrained stone; one (No. 471) in Museo Nahuel Huapi is of granite. Araucanians believe that stone from which both types of emblems were made can be found in places where lightning has struck the earth.

[301] Informants recalled the days when the cacique wore a distinctive earring, a large square one. One such earring in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín is made of dark ungrained stone, similar to that of the toki.

621 Whenever a cacique and his lofche settled down, they set up their toldos some distance apart, but always within sight of one another. The cacique regulated the location of the toldos. (According to Kolupan the army introduced the word toldo and called a settlement of toldos a toldería; the Araucanians called their dwellings ruka.) Animals grazed far beyond the toldería. An informant drew an ellipse in the sand and explained, "Here [center] was the place for the cacique's toldos—he usually had several wives, sometimes as many as four or five, and each wife generally had a toldo. About here [one end of the ellipse] lived the families of the men who were expected to defend the people: those who had lances with arrowheads, and also those who had boleodoras. Out here and here and here [along periphery in scattered fashion] lived the other families. When we moved into what is now San Martín de los Andes area, the cacique had his toldos where the village of San Martín de los Andes is today, close to the banks of Lake Lacar. The toldos of the men with the lances and boleodoras were where the Argentine military post is today [on the outskirts of San Martín de los Andes]; some of the remaining families lived along both shores of Lake Lacar, but most of them lived in the Vega Valle—the grazing lands were best there."

Occasionally a lofche divided: the Kalfükura were known to have done so. Reumai, one of the sons of Kalfükura, after the death of his father went to Chile with some families of his father's lofche; his

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

lofche there became known as Reumai. Reumai's brother stayed on in Argentina with the deceased father's lofche, which lofche today is known as Namuncurá of Collón Curá. 621

The lofche probably persists today where groups of Araucanian families live in the vicinity of a recognized cacique whom they speak of as *their* cacique. Such groups existing in 1952, according to the late Father Ludovico Pernisek, are listed in table 9.

The late cacique of El Salitral, having no sons and believing that his daughter Leonor, because of her formal education, was more capable than any man in the families under him, appointed her, before his death, to succeed him. No objections were raised by his people. 621 622 562

TABLE 9.—*Groups of families (probably lofche) in 1952 under a recognized cacique, according to Father Ludovico Pernisek*

Approximate number of families	Location	Recognized cacique
43	Quilaquina and Trompul	Francisco Curuhuinca
30	Rucachoroi	Juan Aigo
60-70	Malleo	Manuel Pañeñile
40	Aucapan	Manuel Linares
30	Atreuco	Shaihueque
45	Collón Curá (San Ignacio)	Aníbal Namuncurá
34	Zaina Yegua	Francisco Ancatruz
30	Quillén	Curriamil
30	Lago Aluminé	Puel
30	Huechulafquen, Lago Paimun and Lago Epulafquen	Francisco Cañicul
30-40	Piedra Pintada	Pablo Paillef
40	El Salitral	Leonor Cayulef

"A woman can look after the interests of her people as well as a man can. This woman has proved that," said a man from Collón Curá.

No cacique today functions as formerly. However, a man is recognized as a cacique if he has been elected by his people; or, if no election has taken place, if he is looked upon by people within an area as their cacique, and is also so recognized by other Araucanians. The Argentine Government authorities—local, territorial, and federal—then deal with him as the authoritative representative of his people. His chief authority lies in leasing grazing lands for the herds and flocks of his people from the Argentine Government. His chief duties are those of calling his people together and presiding at meetings in which grazing and similar needs are discussed. If the ngillatun is still held in his area, it is his duty to send out the call for its performance, and to lead in its celebration. 622

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Reservation Economy

Individuals living on the reservations do not hold severalty title to 423
land they and their fathers have used for many decades. Title to the 221
entire reservation area is vested in the chief in behalf of registered [622]
members of the community and their heirs. Community members enjoy only usufructuary rights, which they have inherited, and may not dispose of their holdings through sale to Chileans or other Mapuche.

In granting title to reservation chiefs, the Chilean government took 648
into consideration three main factors: (1) condition of the land, (2) 423
the number of individuals in each group applying for reservation status, and (3) the "legality" of their claim. Most claims were recog- [622]
nized and titles granted to the spokesmen of applicant groups, who were regarded as chiefs. Wherever possible, the government seems to have taken pains to allot enough land to support the resident population. For example, in less productive regions of agriculturally marginal land the allotments tend to be larger than in the more arable valley lands.

Although it seems that the government was interested in a fair and 311
realistic apportionment, it is evident from the title records that many 423
reservations have been overpopulated since the time of registration. Owing to less intensive agriculture and to somewhat different domiciliary arrangements – in effect, different social and economic struc- [622]
tures – there was some land on all reservations which the residents

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did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

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Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

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This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	c. 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	c. 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Montero	500	102	c. 5 ha.

C Pelehue

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This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

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gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	293	54	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

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The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

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RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,290	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

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The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

A C 311 the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields
are very badly eroded.

A 361 ● 621 162 423 C 167

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

A It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living
162 on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble
[161] Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación*
(registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased
considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica)
A reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in
the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off
[169] to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

A If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees
423 who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affilia-
425 tion with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under
Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the
A forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allot-
[167] ment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the
strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to
A farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives.
[622] This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with
[621] their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire commu-
A nity.

[428] Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by
[177] Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the
[178] Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed
A later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal
423 reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for
241 a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance
A of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reserva-
[427] tion on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal
holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are
widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a
piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reserva-
tion benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining pro- 242
duction, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively un- 433
attainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper 311
application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy
winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry [134]
summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for 433
wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unreal- 241
istic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 5 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture 311
land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare [233]
after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the
corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, [241]
but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no 621 ●
longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land
should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a [162]
resident population of 135 Mapuche, and 313 hectares under cultiva- [311]
tion. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses. [231]

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and 311
farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common
grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road [361]
now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants,
and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems re- [262]
lated to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted [433]

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Previously, the host was always a kinship elder (*lonko*), designated as "chief" once the reservation system went into effect. The *lonko* of several related households would decide upon a date for the commencement, say, of preparing and sowing the community's gardens, and would announce his plan to other household heads through his messenger or *werken*, who was usually a *kona* or ordinary male member of the chief's or *lonko*'s household. Each adult male would agree to come to the *lonko*'s garden on the appointed day for the sowing and, as advised, bring his wife and children. Each family brought its own tools and draft animals, and the *lonko* provided seed. The men broke the ground with wooden plows, still used occasionally today, which were drawn by yoked oxen. Maize, potatoes, oca, and other native crops were placed in dibble holes, whereas wheat, barley, and rye were sown broadcast. As garden agriculture changed to field agriculture, *mingaco* seems to have become more elaborate, involving as well harder work on the part of the group. The heaviest labors fell to men, although women usually assisted with planting and children carried out numerous minor operations, one of which was to stand on the harrow as it was dragged over the seeded field. Many of these particulars may be observed today.

[462]

Although the work was directed by the *lonko*, his *konas* and their families customarily anticipated his orders and carried out most of the labors without supervision. The *lonko* provided a large evening meal for the work party, and set out jars of wine or native brew (*chicha*), which was often mixed with parched wheat and called *murke*. During their labors the workers would stop from time to time to slake their thirst, usually becoming drunk by the time most of the heavy tasks had been completed. With increasing inebriation, the work became less efficient and a spirit of festivity took hold. After the work was finished, the people foregathered at the *lonko*'s house, women in one group and men in another, to partake of the evening meal. Young boys and girls remained with the women. Females from the *lonko*'s household, and generally others whose husbands participated in the day's work, helped both in preparing and serving the food to the assemblage. Eating and drinking continued until the supply was exhausted. The party then dispersed and returned home.

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Out of loyalty and dependency, members of the residential group worked the chief's fields and throughout the year made numerous "gifts" of food to his household upon request (cf. Murdock, 1956:138–43 *et passim*). Although Smith (1855:241) wrote that chiefs

[621]
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"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and 241
from informants who describe the situation which existed less than 476
three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from 622
members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his [431]
contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest [621]
that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by 241
smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, 476
but generally involve several of the most closely related families on [621]
the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing
to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since [178]
a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work. [464]

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of 476
it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in 622
the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to 613
find all members of a large residential group or reservation commu- [621]
nity performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

496 (*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their
24 labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless
[364] they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation
of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve
the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until
late evening, help with a second meal.

496 Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief
222 and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also
[491] applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is
[621] affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few
[312] families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrange-
[496] ments are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is
[429] generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to
[244] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region
[496] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Some-
[535] times, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

496 *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to
24 be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing opera-
[178] tions in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of
[613]

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents. 496 [241 [613 [622]

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community. 496 [622 [491] [574] [554] [621]

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery. 496 [613 [621] [241]

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from mingaco. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints [342] [241] [574] [273] [342] [335]

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the 243
night. 429

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner [565]
of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2
per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche 243
can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are
compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thor-
ough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate
operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh
the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively [496]
eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often en-
gaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, [579]
nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great ex-
penditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of com- 243
munity-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent 182
times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the
larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and [622]
the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being [621]
bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their har-
vest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured 422
in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional
possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used [428]
by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal
inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed
of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines 423
will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reserva-
tion-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise
claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more
with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with
inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the 423
reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights 177
and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indica-
tions are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is grow-
ing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of
which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

429 equipment, draft animals, and seeds, although any or all of these might be provided by the landlord, who then obtains a greater share of the harvest for himself commensurate to his investment.

The poor Mapuche landlord who arranges to work part of his land with a tenant farmer is one who has more land than he is able to farm by himself. Perhaps he lacks sufficient equipment, animals, and seed. Whatever the reason might be in specific instances, the tenant himself tends to be as well off as the landlord in regard to production capital, possibly even wealthier. However, the tenant is poor in land.

While there are renters and tenants on many reservations, their number is small. The limitation appears to be essentially cultural
429 rather than economic. By this I mean that the limiting factors do not
641 result from rational economic considerations of investment and production alone. Mapuche-Chilean hostility conditions the situation.
[186] There is felt to be risk involved in dealing with Chileans in such arrangements. There is the reluctance to surrender oneself in complete dependence on the outsider. It is for these reasons, I think, that tenancy and renting have in general been rejected as solutions by the Mapuche for the maintenance of their agrarian economy. Tenancy and renting land to Chileans are recognized as tying in with the whole question of *división*. The Mapuche who have not taken a firm stand on the matter of *división* also tend to equivocate on the merits of tenancy and renting. When reservations constitute relatively har-
[186] monious units, the feeling of keeping the community "pure" is strong
[621] among the membership.

The *Mediero* or Sharecropping System

429 The practice of working land in half-shares must be viewed as a
472 further effort in the direction of effecting an agricultural adjustment. The *mediero* system is an important economic mechanism which enables individuals to pool resources to their mutual advantage. While
[592] the system is based on friendship or at least trust, it does not rest on the traditional bonds of kinship and common residence as do most other productive arrangements we have discussed. It allows for greater flexibility in making economic decisions and allocating resources.
[554] It differs from the several forms of cooperative activities already mentioned in that it involves capital investment on a relatively long-term basis rather than mere pooling of labor for a special job and a limited period.

594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of
[613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated
[596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests
[594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households)
[591] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and son or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain
[592] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the
[illegible] breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern.
[114] Since *lofo* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any
[596] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

611 [217] kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 621 101 [794] To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpin. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as [613] [794] [792] [776] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 61 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

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784 442 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in ngillatun fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruc- 114
tion to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually 61
observed.

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an ex- 114
tended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of 621
common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely over- 61
looking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation.

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Ma- 621
puche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing 613
importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and 618
what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal [591]
residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are

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[591] concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:68).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly [629] the local group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, [721] the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

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[611]
[602] Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

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179 The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 177

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se separaban extraordinariamente para ir a establecerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (293). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [152] [624]

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of [177] [173] [648] [623]

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peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 1 shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

[illegible]
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613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage*, (2) *lineage group*, (3) *localized lineage*, (4) *sublineage*, and (5) *minimal lineage*. The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[See CAT. 116, P. 13 — Analyst]

males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal 613 621
group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees.

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well [618]
as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage.

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche*, a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral [622]
and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de*

613 621 [622] *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for distinguishing lineal and residential units.

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[3] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 621 618 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage. Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

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[3] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, 613
kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate 621
reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.* 618
Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been 591
described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown 613
of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of 621
neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucania, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate 613
the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation- 621
period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost 596
nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages [114)
simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar [618)
to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

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* Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

613 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of uni-
62 lineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it
596 does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Mur-
[618] dock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of
unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In
[114] view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956
and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi-
[428] cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inherit-
ance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group
of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche so-
cial structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations
[622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem
of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief, who is the
kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident popula-
tion. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the
reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment
contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin-
[618] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure un-
derwent significant change with the emergence of a strong
chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the
minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the preres-
ervation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a super-
ficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and
the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and
following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's
618 patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman
[586] change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's
[591] kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a
temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

562 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), ex-
423 tenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are condi-
177 tional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction
over land.

428 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most im-
423 portant part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that
562 land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property –
199 at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however,
[556] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and
[591] the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are
sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicado* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the
621 anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of
[428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de-
[423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership.
Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured – that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of
592 women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman
589 who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The
second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

591 613 emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these 591 in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to 604 put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship 591 602 can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

613 623 The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

613 In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

613 423 231 A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613 After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to 423 her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little 621 more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing [624] to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his [609] mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working [414] as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

613 to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives
423 in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reser-
621 vation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios,* and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre,* but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members
[169] of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

562 When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the
613 residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her sta-
620 tus changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked
[591] to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses. 562 613 621 618 [496]

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage. [571] [593]

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [535 764 561]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

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an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

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An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery – or at least in certain forms of it – against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on any reservation.

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If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence – because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup – but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence.
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and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship 613
among their respective spouses. 592

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community [592] changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub- 613
lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect 178
of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than pres- [621]
ent-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports—written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known [166]
in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucania. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area, land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration [169]
has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days—and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

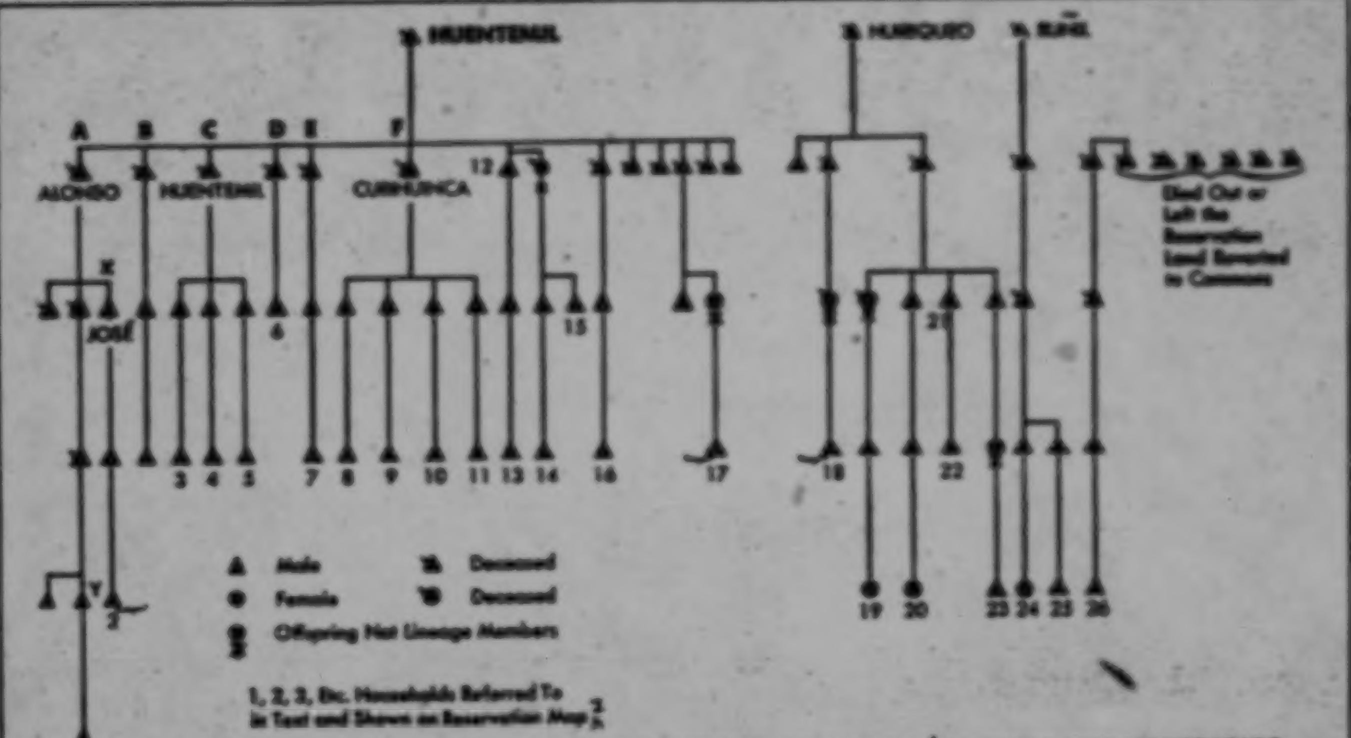
613 178 alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *título de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed – that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

621 613 Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

[595] The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.

[6.98]


HUENTEMIL
A
B
C
D
E
F
ALONSO
HUENTEMIL
CURIHUINCA
X
JOSÉ
Y
HUIRQUEO
RUÑIL
Died Out or Left the Reservation Land Reverted to Commons
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
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14
15
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18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
Male
Female
Deceased
Deceased
Offspring Not Lineage Members

1, 2, 3, Etc. Households Referred To in Text and Shown on Reservation Map $\frac{a}{b}$

RESERVATION ALONQUEO / LINEAGES AND HOUSEHOLDS

DIAGRAM I

$\frac{a}{b}$ [See Cat. 116, p. 32 – Analyst]

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613
595

613
621

Characteristically, nothing is remembered of Huenuemil's daughters or any "sons" who were not mentioned in the *título de merced*. From a comparison of genealogies with some other nearby reservations, it is clear that members of Huenuemil's household married locally, affinal bonds with Huenuemil's lineage being recognized as far back as the time of radicación. Thus, regardless of genealogical accuracy at this generational level, Huenuemil's descendants and their affines on certain linked reservations are fully aware that the potentiality of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups existed possibly even before the reservation system localized the groups to which they now belong. While the genealogies tend to be forgotten and are in most cases unclear if not contradictory, the foundations of the present matrilateral marriage system seem to have been laid around the time of the inauguration of the present reservation system.

Huenuemil's offspring recorded in the *título de merced* numbered thirteen, only six of whom are represented on the genealogical chart. Of the other seven, only three have living representatives in the community today, the rest either having died out or moved away. Sublineages that may be called viable are represented by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 on the diagram.

It is likely that the other sublineages will remain small and that number 4 will cease to exist with the death of its present male representative, Vicente. A further likelihood is that the sister of Vicente will marry, if she does at all, uxorilocally – that is, bring her husband to live on the reservation. This would provide a basis for the development of a new lineage within the limits of reservation Alonqueo, although it is unlikely that such a development would occur nowadays. Vicente holds 50-odd hectares of reservation land, enough to support five small families. It is likely that there would be no opposition from lineage elders to the formation of another lineage solely on the grounds that the land area could not permit such increase in the reservation population – that is, there would be no opposition solely on the grounds of economic expediency. However, reservation Alonqueo has petitioned for *división* into severalty holdings, which raises a political issue. Any increase in the number of residents who are not members of the present lineages would be resisted by the majority of reservation members – as a politico-economic measure. Such an addition to the population would very likely be deplored by most of those persons who are hoping to gain more land through *división* as well

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong 613
chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huenemil, beyond whom there is no exact 613
recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of sev- 621
eral households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along 595
with two wives and their children and close relatives. Another three 592
wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement.

When Huenemil's sons married and began having children of 613
their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. 621
There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[2] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This
movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans [148]
and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and [illegible]). If certain segments of Huenemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huenemil's authority over them was maintained.

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves 613
to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The orig- 621
inal occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was 361
made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not

[2] [See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had
not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of
Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment
of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
169 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved
away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and
in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration
of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming
increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to
leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of
the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today,
there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is
that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems
low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance
of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the
total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing
primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but
also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend
to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the
other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has
within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There
has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of
Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B.
As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

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[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.
8 [See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--- Analyst]

the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the 613 oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings.

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is un- 613
likely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and 621
socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have 178
developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which [648]

613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.

178 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous
648 zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the in-
habitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military
context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as
chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebel-
lion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group
was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not
occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred
in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental
in establishing multikinship communities which had their founda-
tion in the war years – the very thing the reservation system was
designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment
of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any
reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small
groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these
obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered
land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these
remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation
community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant
lineages are dominant in at least two senses – size and power. The
way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by refer-
ring to Diagram I.[2] They are quite broad at the base, have undergone
significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original
title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their
advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politi-
cally dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the
crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least
[167] in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

*[See Cat. 116, p. 93--Analyst]

tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, 613
rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indi- 62]
cated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as 178
portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordi- [167]
nate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation
community will be discussed in the next chapter.

5

The Reservation as a Political Unit

621 648 In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

[622] We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

[692] Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

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[622] [128] [182] [1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*ñillatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the subcolonial context in which it thrives.

Chilean citizens, though, the Mapuche also have a series of rights 621
and obligations irrespective of reservation status which brings them 648
under the jurisdiction of national courts, the authority of which is [892]
backed by the Chilean police force, military organization, and penal institutions. Nevertheless, the question of land rights (corporate *vs.* severalty status) is central to Mapuche political organization. It is largely as title holder of reservation land that the chief enjoys political leadership. It is membership in a reservation community that conditions the individual's political interests and goals. The eventual disposition of reservation land continues to be the primary issue around which Mapuche-Chilean relationships center in the political sphere of social action. The preamble to the contemporary condition may be stated in historical terms.

For more than 300 years after the Spanish invasion of Chile the 175
Mapuche maintained considerable autonomy over the region south 648
of the Bío Bío River. Horacio Lara (1889:241) expressed himself on this matter in the following words: "La Araucanía seguía prestandose a la faz del mundo como una sección territorial independiente de nuestra República, con sus costumbres y su independencia propria. . . ." But toward the end of the colonial era a series of forts and towns was re-established south of the Bío Bío — Los Angeles, Nacimiento, Antuco, and Santa Barbara were founded between 1742 and 1758. South of the Mapuche stronghold, Osorno, San Pablo, and Río Bueno were established with the effect of delimiting the southern extension of Mapuche-held territory. These towns did not serve as jumping-off points for immediate settler penetration of the Indian zone, however.

While little is really known about the details of Mapuche politico- [642]
military organization during most of this long era, the fact that they [701]
were able to resist white settlement of their heartland suggests an organization that could be called into play when the occasion demanded. It must not be overlooked, though, that they had the advantage of sheer weight of numbers, which, perhaps more than tactical maneuvers and organizational ability, accounts for their successful resistance. Also, because of a lack of centralized political [642]
authority, the Spaniards and later the Chileans were forced to conquer one small residential aggregate after another, the defeat of one such group not entailing the submission of the rest. In any case, the long-range successes of the Mapuche were always at the expense of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The Ministry of Lands and Colonization has jurisdiction over Indian 648 affairs. Special courts and judges hear land claims and other 692 cases involving reservations, but violations of civil law are heard in regular Chilean courts open to whites and Indians alike. Specifically, the Indian judges (*Juezes de Indios*) handle *división*. In appearing before the Indian courts (*Juzgados de Indios*) the Mapuche is entitled to legal representation (*abogado procurador*). In all, the government [131] administers an indigenous zone almost the size of the state of Delaware.

Nevertheless, this represents a territory vastly reduced over the 175 course of the last hundred years. Immediately after the rebellion of 648 1880-82 Mapuche society seems to have been in a state of turmoil. [131] It is estimated that many thousands of Indians migrated across the Andes at this time to escape military reprisal or because they had been [167] routed out of their former settlements at points of white penetration.

Within Araucanía there was also tremendous population move- 175 ment as groups shifted en masse to the Andean foothills or south- 648 ward to and across the Toltén River. The greatest pressures were 166 brought to bear on the Mapuche from the north and west. Forested, virgin territory was opened up during this period as much by the Mapuche themselves as by the while colonists. Aside from the general historical accounts there are other data which add to the impression of great population mobility between 1880 and the first two decades of the twentieth century. In the *título* records, for example, it is not uncommon to read that witnesses for the applicant chief knew him and his *familia* for only as little as fifteen or twenty years in some instances, indicating a short occupancy in the area. Mobility is given tacit recognition in the reservation legislation, as well, for [621] it is stated (e.g. *Ley* No. 4,111, June 1931, Art. 27) that an Indian will be considered a legal resident only on the reservation in which he earns his livelihood, regardless of the fact that he might be mentioned in various *títulos*.

In large parts of Araucanía the registration and mapping of reserva- [423] tions was proceeding slowly, and, as towns sprang up and farm colonies developed, the Mapuche continued to withdraw. With the establishment of railroads and roadways throughout the frontier, the Indians were put off their land with little or no compensation. Some reservations were not mapped and registered under a chief until 175 648 as recently as the second decade of the twentieth century – almost [923] thirty years after the end of hostilities. During this interim, the social [621]

175 and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was under-
648 going significant change, and a new social stability was achieved
621 under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

178 It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation
622 Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership
648 of a kinship elder, the *lonko,* and that the authority of the *lonko* was
[613] minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth
[901] century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was
[166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[901] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

178 When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and
623
423 hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community 178
were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish 622
a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may 423
move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within [578]
reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not
leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights
and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals [592]
were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain
measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already [613]
claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement
to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage)
in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one
of the members who might want to establish a household of his own.
The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. [621]
Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an
ad hoc basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the [578]
population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable
by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population 178
is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives 622
the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and 648
generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority 423
is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the
extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other
hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing
directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency
of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, [692]
since the development of a larger and more efficient police force
in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part
of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

the Chileans and the Mapuche were for a long time deterrents to the 178
loss of the chief's authority over his reservation group. To a certain 622
extent this may be said to be operative still in times of crisis. [648]

In parts of Araucanía where there is less pressure on land and where
división is not a subject which is hotly contended among the reserva-
tion population, chieftainship is noticeably stronger in the economic [476]
sphere. Communal labor is more frequent and carried out on a
larger scale. Communal land is used for grazing and gathering wood [423]
and is still under the jurisdiction of the chief. If an individual wishes
to clear communal woodland for the purpose of farming it, permis-
sion has to be granted. In these matters there is an informal conclave [623]
of elders who make the decisions, but the chief is their spokesman and the official arbiter. The individual resident has a recognized right to continue his petition in the hope of swaying the leader's opinions by showing cause.

Significant modifications have taken place in Mapuche social 178
structure since the imposition of a Chilean administrative system. 621 ●
Reservation social structure is qualitatively different from that of pre- 622
reservation times. Before the period of peaceful reservation living, 648
sociopolitical units fluctuated or changed in size. Since the imposition of reservation restrictions a greater population stability has come about, communities made up of unrelated kingroups have evolved, and reservation leadership has acquired political aspects over and above kinship allegiance.

Stated differently, the characteristic prereservation social unit was a kinship rather than a political group. For the most part it was a small, autonomous domestic unit. In establishing reservations the Chilean government attempted to follow this traditional social alignment. We have seen, however, that reservations were composed of dominant kingroups and one or more remnant groups of nonrelatives.
This situation really approximated the Mapuche wartime organiza- [701]
tion, rather than the normally highly segmentary structure charac-
terized by weak leadership in the hands of a *lonko*. So today's [642]
reservations continue to comprise a congeries of small communities which, in the framework of colonial administration, are essentially autonomous political groups with respect to one another.

Although the Chilean government legislates with regard to all 621
reservations as a totality, it deals in most matters under the law with 648
individual reservations, for example when a petition for *división* is 692
made, or with individual persons, such as when credit is sought by

621 [648] [692] the Mapuche farmer, or when the Mapuche enters into a relationship with another individual on a contractual or other legal basis. This holds, too, in the courts where torts and crimes are adjudicated.

But on the supraindividual level, each reservation has a sense of separateness, underscored by dominant kinship alignments, political organization in the hands of a chief and adult males, territorial distinction, economic resources, sponsorship of religious ceremonials, and so forth. Among these homologous units there exists relative over-all stability. Factors of cultural and political nationalism tend to integrate these otherwise independent units with respect to certain national issues, but this is outside the traditional peacetime political structure, and will be discussed later.

621 622 648 [671] On the one hand there is the supreme political authority of the Chilean government. This is mediated at the local level through Indian-affairs officers, courts, and police. On the other hand there is Mapuche customary law enforced by chiefs. The chiefs mediate Chilean law on the reservations. To the extent, however, that the chief's role has been usurped by governmental action, by an effort to break up the reservations and deal individually with the Mapuche as Chilean nationals, chieftainship has been considerably curtailed.

178 622 648 It seems clear that the rise of chieftainship depended on the reservation system. The Chilean government was at first unable to administer the segmented Mapuche communities except through numerous agents at the local level. Relationships between Chileans and Mapuche were through the offices of chiefs and the several governmental officials at the provincial level. When the chiefs could no longer monopolize these relationships, largely owing to the growth of divergent economic interests on the reservations and a developing political awareness on the part of the ordinary Indian, their organizational authority began to slip from them. The government abetted this decline by fulfilling many of the services performed by the chiefs. For example, local government officials are entrusted with policing the reservations, building and maintaining schools, improving agriculture, encouraging industry and commerce, repairing roads and other public works, and many other things that formerly fell to the reservation Mapuche under the direction of their chiefs. The national government intentionally established a mechanism for effectively bypassing the power of chiefs. The intention is symbolized in one respect in the various "percentage" clauses in the land-allotment legislation.

666 often hold important positions in the reservation community, being [813] elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which 621 crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the 622 following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It 578 will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original [428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These [691] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested [648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated. 664 621 622 578

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family 621 622 578

621 heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to *divi-*
622 *sión*, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity
578 tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of fiestas and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

178 594 596 obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to [127] fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

592 174 It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4. It will be remembered that the Araucanian words *ruka* or *rukañma*, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting 592 594 621 174 historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit. I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

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[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the 592 greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the 594 era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household 621 units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. 174 Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and constitute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situation in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family house- 178 hold in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, 594 must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, 596 at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact—that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons—than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup—with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements—is a

596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. [182] Economic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche,* although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority 613 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is ●621 domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among [606] [209] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions between in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In [829] [595] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in [182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the [769] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

582 613 114 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

[621] The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 613 621 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and 648
again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, 182
to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet 105
happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new
symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the
reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration,
and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation
social structure. 105

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace 177
with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-á-vis the Chilean 173
government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup 182
are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically 622
with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter 618
group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did,
and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide
the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship
affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional
rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties
and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and
more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage. 105

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function 177
as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which 622
rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a 618
localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of
ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential [794]
kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of
moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to
homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the [496]
area of greatest social change — the economy — and cooperative ventures
are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building
and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches,
schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche [182]
society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes"
in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished
from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter,
distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and
those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community
effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group [571]
membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached
person should be kept clearly in mind.

Appendix A

Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo*

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa; (B) Carihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592 621

After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near where ruka 2 is situated on Map II.[‡] He and his wife died *c.* 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage. [587]

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necal (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Carihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Carihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Carihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his oldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to ruka 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

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* Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I. [see cat. 116 p.98 – ANALYST]

[p.228 is blank] ‡ [see cat. 116 p.35 – ANALYST.]

592 621 From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (SiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curihuanque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's SiDaDa.

(X) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curihuanque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1910) Juan Pablo Huentemil/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the *título de merced*, but moved back in time for the radicación. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of ruka 3.

[595] Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Transito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's ruka. When Juan and Ramón married, they established rukas of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1950, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Transito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Transito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Transito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.
Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 5 years).
Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.
(Three more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1910) Minchiqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiqueo was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, ruka 6.

Minchiqueo had two more sons after radicación, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1910) Widow of Marín, 2 sons (one married with no children); a BrSo, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; a SiSo of Marín.

Marín, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died c. 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present ruka 7. All those mentioned in the *título de merced* are now dead. Marín has no direct descendants. His BrSo, Lepin, had five more children, the eldest of which is now the household head of ruka 7, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepin, 2 Br, 2 Si.

(F) (1900) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus., 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—rukas 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of radicación, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of ruka 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the paternal household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present ruka, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in ruka 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Si.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

G

(1900) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 3 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced,* at which time he occupied a ruka near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in ruka 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's ruka and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in ruka 14. His wife is descended from Cayupan, an original radicado but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau., 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau., 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, Mo, 1 Si.

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621

(1910) Millapan/Wi, 1 son, his wife and 2 sons, 1 dau.

Millapan's grandson, Juan, occupied household 16, where he moved at the time of his first marriage. Formerly, the parental household, headed by the grandfather, Millapan, was situated near *ruks* 12 or 15. Juan married after his father and mother died, when he moved to his present location. Juan had no children by his first wife. His present wife is Chilean and has one daughter by a previous marriage (to a Chilean) and two sons and two daughters by Juan. Juan remarried after his first wife died.

Household 16: Juan/Wi, 2 sons, 2 daus, 1 stepdau.

(1910) Catrilef/2 Wi, the first with 3 daus, the second with 1 son; WiMo.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Catrilef was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Calfumil/2 Wi, both childless.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Calfumil was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Lipin Nanco/Wi, 3 sons, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married dau.

Lepin was a brother of Alonso. All persons mentioned in the *título de merced* have died. A son, presently absent from the reservation, and a daughter (widowed), who has returned to the reservation with her children, are the only descendants of Lipin Nanco.

Household 17: Isabel (widowed), 3 sons, 1 dau.

(1910) Meliqueo/Wi, 1 son, 2 daus.

Meliqueo was a brother of Alonso. His wife and he are dead. His son died without issue. His daughters married out. The family is no longer represented on the reservation.

(1910) José Marin/Wi, 3 sons.

José Marin was a brother of Alonso. No descendants are alive on the reservation.

(1910) Juan Peralta/Wi; 1 son, 3 unmarried Br; 1 married "uncle," Juan Huiriqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 1 dau.

Juan Peralta (deceased) was not related to Alonso. His wife, son, and two brothers are dead. His other brother, Luciano, was in Argentina, but visited the reservation in 1953, as he does from time to time. Juan Huiriqueo and his wife and children are all dead. His granddaughter Petron's son, Curileo, lives on the reservation.

Household 18: Inocencio Curileo, Si, uncle Luciano.

(1910) Francisco Huiriqueo/Wi, no children.

Francisco was not related to Alonso. He had two sons, Francisco (deceased) and Manuel, and two daughters, Anilia and Juana, both of whom married out (now deceased).

Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, 592
returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla 621
married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation 589
Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died.

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Ruñil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Ruñil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Ruñil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Curihuntru.[b]

(1910) Troilan.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. [618] The two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 182 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 178 177 .621 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder. or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

562 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who
591 may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been
received. These women may eventually marry and remain on
423 their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

613 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In essence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of
•621 patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to
613 the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant
group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate
178 to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registtration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a 613 greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining domi- 621 nant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of 178 lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate [578] lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate [601] lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there [578] by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

613

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 33]

apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of
actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most
closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive,
and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local
population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in
the process of which authority has become more diffuse in
matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of [602]
authority running between members in relationships such as
uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical
sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the
deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from
the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or
political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that
there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the
membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance
in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent 621
occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which
the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected
parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution
is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture
in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

613 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be
•621 a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a
425 number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in
which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called
621 business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct
627 economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it
is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by
578 monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consid-
182 eration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the
648 consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

•621 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into
648 the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail.
613 These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that
641 conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather,
621 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reserva-
648 tion" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of 621
kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. 648
We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chileanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marraige; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular
aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must 121
look to these larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation 648
units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the 121
structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat 128
arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

796 of grain or after the harvest has been made, they are supplicatory
241 rites associated with Mapuche agriculture. There also exists
[782] today the small, family-based *ñillatun*, conducted mainly for
nonagricultural purposes, which seems to me to reflect the
[178] persistence of the traditional, multipurposed ceremony of the
prereservation era.

796 In the absence of a ritual calendar, *ñillatun* ceremonies are
622 scheduled according to the inclinations of the leaders of the
residential groups on each of the participating reservations, according to how they view their responsibilities. Chiefs formally initiate the holding of the ceremony, but other respected and important elders of the reservation help decide the matter. The concordance and participation of the chief, however, are essential for a successful *ñillatun*.

796 Members of each reservation in the ritual congregation
241 provide a conclave of elders, heads of lineages and sublineages,
who work out the arrangements for holding the ceremony. Decisions
782 are made about what to ask for (rain, sun, a favorable
• [621] combination of each), depending on the season and the
community's needs. In the preharvest season, for example, dry weather may be asked for, and to insure good growth and a successful harvest a promissory *ñillatun* is held (by a single reservation), propitiating ancestral spirits and *ñenechen* and, possibly, the old man and woman of the south wind. A *ñillatun* is considered promissory if the people have not the means of staging a large ceremony, owing to a scarcity of food, and if all member reservations (some lineages of which might be in attendance elsewhere) do not participate fully. In the postharvest season, when food is at least temporarily abundant, a large, full-scale *ñillatun* will be held, to give thanks and to fulfill the promise. Other decisions made by the conclave include the selection of officials for the ceremony, the captains (*awnkamañ*: guardian of *awn*) and sergeants, as well as pennant bearers; the type of *rewe* or main altar to be used; the number of black or white banners which symbolize, respectively, rain and sun; what shall be sacrificed; what shall be eaten and drunk; and many other important details of ritual arrangement.

796 *Ñillatun* is sponsored by a single reservation, actually initiated
621 by the dominant lineage thereon, and jointly participated in by

several reservations which form traditional segments of the 796
ritual congregation. The respective chiefs and *ñillatufe* (ideally, 621
one or more of the chiefs) and the various lineage heads assemble to discuss the matter and do the major planning. The arrangement of the smaller, promissory ceremonies is not as complicated, decisions generally being made by the lineage head after discussion with the elders of his reservation.

Shamans are sometimes invited to these conclaves, but this is 796
not common, even though it might even be understood before- 756
hand that a *machi* will conduct most of the prayers of the forthcoming ceremony. Sometimes shamans are specifically excluded from participating in the ceremony, although they are never excluded as spectators, and may even be honored guests. *Machis*, however, might sometimes instigate *ñillatun* celebrations, as was clearly the case in a ceremony I witnessed near Angol, in the northern part of Mapucheland, where chieftainship is weak and where corporate structure of reservations is not always strong. When *machis* are called in to perform at *ñillatun*, it is a last-ditch expediency—so that some sort of religious ceremony may be held.

The preliminary meeting ends with an agreement about 796
details of the approaching ceremony. All *ñillatun* that I observed
were held around the full of the moon. The principal reason [821]
seems to have been that the connection between fertility
associated with the fulness of the moon is taken to mean that [776]
the god of the moon (*kuyenfucha*) is especially receptive to human offerings at this time. Once agreement has been reached, word is passed throughout the general region, formally to those people who are members of the most responsible units of the ritual congregation and informally to other persons who live on the periphery of the congregational unit and who may attend as spectators. The formal notice includes details concerning the exact purpose of the ceremony, the contributions which are expected from certain families, what shall be brought in the way of food and drink, and so forth. Then begins a rather feverish (in that people are doing things not ordinarily performed) though simple preparation on the part of all concerned. The people prepare quantities of bread and meat, *chicha* and *mudai*, mend or buy clothing for the occasion, polish their heirloom

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may 796
consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation- 794
bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) 628
reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regular, but would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, 621
each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into 613
two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant 794
lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
794 about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
[128] confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as
models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of
marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows
indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to
a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal
number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned
(matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The
fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation
A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or
elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the
purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the
matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation
are of importance in indicating that there are even more
multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model.
Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not
indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the
definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the
correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore,
are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
613 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
178 have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[194] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We
may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
582 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
178 system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
177 an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
[166] because household units would split and their members move
considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system
put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

621 613

the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected 592
from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with 178
respect to total Mapuche society. 172

The most significant way in which to consider marriage 166
practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect 582
to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of 621
most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact 613
that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage
also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and
without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the
nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that 582
of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral (183)
cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in
which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the
expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize
the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved.
What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman [601]
who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to
designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which
a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written 582
elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving 613
and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by
matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct
exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the
relationship of such groups within the general framework of
congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together 613
a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic 602
limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from 593
an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this
brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and
obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter
forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and
marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most
important. 794

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying 621
lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) 613
indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega- 582

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[P. 116]

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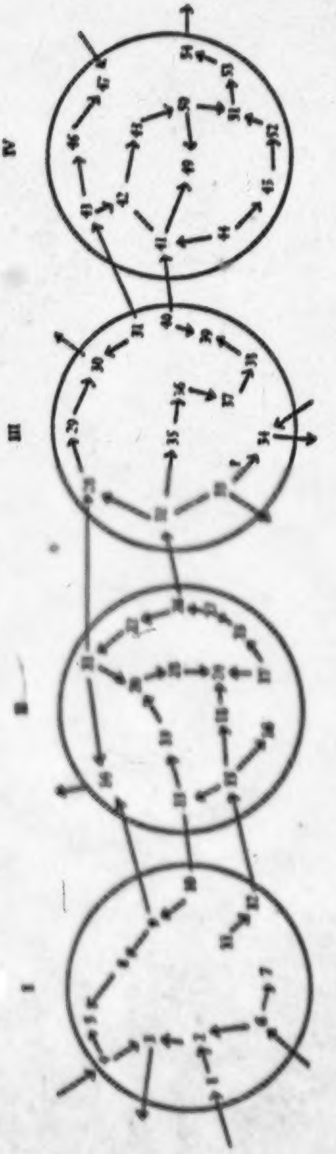
DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations



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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congregational unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

794 •621 613 582 [178] acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara 1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon related to the maturity of the reservation system and an indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in regional identification.

613 582 581 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and obligations, which usually exist between two groups united through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year of existence.

794 582 178 613 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more and more to be identified with a local or regional block of reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to

582 178 595 794 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

held in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was 794
still prevalent. The most detailed data I have for the last forty 592
years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a 178
generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the [595]
ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this occurs is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the 621
structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a 613
clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is 794
difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or 178
ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations 621
or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to 794
correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
62 society. It seems, therefore, that the *nillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[241] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of
agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighborhoods
[613] of people. There has been no simple extension of localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
778 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
621 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
771 ritual fiction and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual congregation.

784 *Dominant and Subordinate* (unrelated) *Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *nillatun*, even for an adequate under-
621 standing of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field (*nidol malewe*: most sacred place; *nillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, 794
largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and 613
inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship 621
to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major 794
ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community- 796
based ceremonics to elders (and other members as well) of the
subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, 613
sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet 621
players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to
that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from
participating reservations—constitute important structural links
for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on
any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations
in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[2]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly 794
related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the 769
ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of
participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this
means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These [613]
ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

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[2] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph. [035]

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role and at the same enhances (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

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It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in *ñillatun* ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a *machi*, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do *machi* have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since *machi* tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the *machi* represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

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With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general *ñillatun* ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled *kalku*.

[796] [626] [754]

One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

794 562 613 621 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. [769] To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 793 794 613 [182] *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

79 622 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. [613] His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. [628] He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to
the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there
seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the
linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the
linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman 793
for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted
action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the
ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual
responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of
this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not
themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in
ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding
or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more
festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, 793
more than any other single factor, bolsters his political 794
leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism,
and only since congregational development of this 554
sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to
such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested
largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command
allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship
group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
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793 difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and
554 mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or
621 marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the
chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate
622 to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness,
[114] they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is
ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual
leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to
[628] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look
elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to
[769] them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own
authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the
[613] *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on
the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political
affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent
households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the
formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate
lineages then achieve an equal footing with the
segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of
political and ritual integration (the one implying the other),
the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community,
[[illegible]54] and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of
situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the
182 *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of
554 great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to
621 his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community.
622 This of course has great implications for the survival of the
entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole.
793 If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual
794 leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant
lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and
there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as
priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal
integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual
congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.
571 The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony,
796 is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche
182 society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a
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12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations
are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the
exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with
certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a
social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the
development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I
mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links,
many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of
these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation
society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take
wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several
reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differ-
entiated by the provenience of wives of members of the
sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there
is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from
one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relation-
[571] ships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the
composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its
net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather
large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership)
population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
621 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will
182 discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and
marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this
postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially
integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative
forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of
analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more
circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance
groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
602 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
613 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are
578 relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm.
[783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential
182 segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[969] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

and shows deep concern for the passage of the newly departed 761
spirit. This is a restraining force against evil operating upon or 769
within ancestral ranks. The loss of a member is disturbing, 621
threatening, since guilt is experienced because the ancestors 794
have not been propitiated sufficiently to protect the living. 182
Partial atonement and renewed security are possible only [783]
through the perfection of the ritual of death. Compulsion and desirability work hand in hand to the end of concluding the perfect *awn*. Freedom from complicity, then, expressed in funeral participation, is another defining feature of the ritual congregation.

Concluding Remarks

Funeral rites differ from fertility rites in organizational 764
principles, being more selective in membership at any given 621
awn. But in viewing funerals as a set of ritual obligations over [764]
time, the totality of relationships involves all members of the [796]
ritual congregation. The *ñillatun* and *awn* congregations comprise all the persons and groups participating in either and
involve the same panoply of beliefs and customs. I believe that [182]
enough evidence has been presented to show that these rituals do call the entire congregation into concerted action, that they do function to revitalize the moral community, integrate the several segments of the larger neighborhood—and that this is possible only because ritual expression and moral values comprise a single, indivisible system which governs social action. A definition of the ritual congregation may be arrived at in two ways. One is an empirical manner involving a set of questions to determine precisely which reservations in any given region participate regularly in both *awn* and *ñillatun*. This I have done with some success in the Toltén region and have used data collected there to construct the model presented as Diagram II.

Another way of defining the ritual community is that empha- 794
sized in this chapter through the use of a model set, rather than 621
an actual set, of reservations, and considering *awn*, *ñillatun*, and 602
marriage alliances. A ritual congregation is simply that regular as- [628]
semblage of reservations which not only participates in *ñillatun* and *awn* but which is also related through sustained marriage ties. It is my experience that this model is applicable with

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significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather than peculiar to the Toltén region.

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The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change, former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance than the second point. The second point involves a consideration of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron 1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral marriage and the absence of any discernible circular system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

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In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence to actual relationships than might be expected in a model representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congregation. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

1 2 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections -- Analyst]

000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.,

621 Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should
683 sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but
613 between members of its branches. The members of subline-
578 ages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
[428] darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to 754
accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather 578
than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, 593
difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are
taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of
the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They [521]
seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is
said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip,
and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in
such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own
wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears,
while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given
their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male
solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to [756]
obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to
perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes
self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher 754
incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than 613
within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I 621
believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity,
a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in
which common interests have been extolled—and that it is
characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief.
These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through
the extension of generational kin terms and through the
voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features
speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation
of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community
membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members
of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more
often accused of being witches themselves than is the case
within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft
arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five
reservations where specific charges had been made) these were
resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or
attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did
not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

754 628 578 On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an indivudual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 • 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [796] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *ñillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *ñillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *ñillatun* to meet the general